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AUTHOR Francke, Warren T.
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ABSTRACT

Investigative reporting won new attention in the wake of the Watergate exposures of the 1970s, but few focused on the role of teamwork. Given the historiographical tendency to declare the Muckraking Era of the early 1900s the dawn of investigative reporting, this limitation of the popular reaction to Watergate was not surprising. In the twentieth century, the concept of team journalism is more often associated with "Time" magazine's institutionalized system of stringers, section editors, researchers, senior editors, and so on, than with such dynamic duos as Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson or Woodstein (Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein). Early episodes in team reporting shared a key variable which sets them apart from the common run of "tour-guide reporting" where teams or individual reporters thoroughly describe the smells, sights, and sounds of the various locations under investigation. In each of the three cases examined--"Crowding the Poor/Appalling Pictures of Tenement-House Life"; the "Hell Hole" investigations; and the expose of the swill milk trade in New York--editors wanted a detailed investigation of several locations in a short time so that the separate scenes might be combined in a single article. In literary style and reporting technique, the team reports relied heavily on the elements characteristic of other tour-guide reporting. Using more reporters provided a more concentrated look at more scenes at the same time. The results in these cases were colorful, provocative stories of unusual sensory impact. (Forty-three notes are included.) (RAE)

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Team Investigation in the 19th Century
Sunday Sacrifices by the Reporting Corps

Warren T. Francke
University of Nebraska at Omaha

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Team Investigation in the Nineteenth Century:

Sunday Sacrifices by the Reporting Corps

Investigative reporting won new attention in the wake of the Watergate exposures of the 1970s, but few focused on the role of teamwork. When not occupied with do-it-yourself instruction, some writers bowed deeply to "The New American Hero."[1] or "Folk Heroes of a New Era."[2] If "new" implied a past, or the absence of one, brief glances in that direction simply nodded to the possibility that some such reporting might have preceded the new wave. Pre-Watergate guides to "depth" reporting and public affairs reporting generally showed similar indifference to earlier experiences.[3] There was a categorical exception. The enthusiasms of the 1970s revived once more the most colorful synonym for investigative exposure: Muckraking. One book treated The New Muckrakers,[4] and when Jessica Mitford's lively exposes of the 1960s reached hard-cover in 1979, the sub-title became "The Gentle Art of Muckraking" and she was crowned "Queen of the Muckrakers."[5] Investigative reporting had at least a short history. Given the historiographical tendency to declare the Muckraking Era of the early 1900s the dawn of investigative reporting, this limitation of the popular reaction to Watergate was not surprising.

More narrowly, and central to this inquiry, post-Watergate studies did not completely neglect the discovery that teamwork, exemplified by the wedding of Woodward and Bernstein as "Woodstein," now held a prominent place in reporting.[6] However, no exploration of the origins of the team approach was undertaken. In the 20th Century, the concept of team journalism is more often associated with Time magazine's institutionalized system of stringers, section editors, researchers, senior editors, and so on, than with such dynamic duos as Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson or Woodstein. Prominent journalistic probers of the 19th Century, from Dickens, Henry Mayhew and W.T. Stead in England to Julius

Chambers, Jacob Riis and H.D. Lloyd in America, worked alone, not in teams. They were what one post-Watergate author would have called "single aces," had he explored roots.[7] The key developmental years for reporting, when it evolved toward institutional stability, preceded the common use of bylines and the star reporter status which fully arrived only with the Muckraking Era. That first half century, from the start of the Penny Press in the 1830s to the early 1880s, saw reporting expand from the one-man band of James Gordon Bennett's first year with the New York Herald, competing with Ben Day's Sun reporting staff, namely George Wisner, to Bennett's 60-odd crew covering the Civil War.[8] In one post-war case, a newspaper quadrupled its reporting staff from six to 24 in five years.[9]

Inevitably, occasions would arise when an editor, no longer lonely in the newsroom, would assign several reporters to a compelling story. As it turned out, the entire news staff might be marched into action. The occasion could be breaking news, from a major fire to a raging blizzard, but the episodes of prime interest here involve early forms of investigative reporting--concerted, planned efforts to look closely at continuing problems or conditions, not spontaneous reactions to alarming acts of Providence. In such cases, when numbers of reporters combined to investigate a single situation, what sort of journalism resulted? Did their literary style and reporting techniques differ from the stories of lone reporters? What, if anything, set the team efforts apart? Three episodes in the developmental years are examined with these questions in mind.

In 1858, Leslie's Weekly mustered its staff artists, from a short, plump Thomas Nast to the tall, blond Alfred Berghaus, and sent them forth as eyewitness observers to expose the swill milk trade in New York and Brooklyn. Frank Leslie, who joined in the reportorial tours, backed his artists with a "corps of

detectives," in a day when journalists might identify themselves as detectives, health inspectors, commissioners and the like. In the early 1870s, the New York Times assigned teams of reporters to portray "appalling pictures of tenement-house life," first in more random guided tours in the Dickensian tradition,[10] and then more purposefully, with detailed investigations which supported its fund-raising crusades to provide summer excursions for poor children. At the dawn of the next decade, Pulitzer's St. Louis Post-Dispatch kept its entire staff of a half dozen reporters busy touring and "raiding" gambling houses and low theaters, "to place before the public complete and accurate information respecting these institutions, about which so little is known."[11] These early episodes help illuminate one facet of the development of reporting and provide a starting point for further study of the team approach to investigative exposure. Team reporting, defined as the assignment of several reporters to a single investigative premise, can find its heritage in the following forays into the streets of New York and St. Louis.[12]

"In Order To Develop the Subject Fully..."

Both the volume of coverage and the wide range of details, from numerical tabulations to vivid and explicit illustrations, required that Frank Leslie assign his entire staff, and others, to work on the swill milk crusade. Coverage saturated four consecutive issues, starting on May 8, 1858. Filling roughly five of 16 pages in each of those weeks, it continued to occupy about two pages per issue for the next ten weeks. The initial headline promised, "Startling Exposure of the Milk Trade of New York and Brooklyn," and after a lead editorial paragraph readers were told, "In order to develop the subject fully, we shall give you pen or pencil illustrations of---."[13] A list followed, from "Every establishment where distillery milk is manufactured," to milk cart routes,

owners of the cows, diets and diseases of the daily herds, infant mortality statistics, and so on, then finally concluding, "and such other points as may arise in (the) course of our minute investigation."

The promise was kept down to the last milk can and addresses of every house where the milk was delivered. Such details, accompanied by graphic illustrations, left little reason to doubt the editorial boast that "Leslie has borne unmurmuringly the heavy cost of the investigation; he has sunk thousands of dollars to bring the villainy home to the evildoers."[14] This claim followed the initial promise that "We have spent money lavishly in order to do our work thoroughly," while vowing, "Our corps of detectives will continue their investigations day and night."[15]

With Nast in their number, more is known about Leslie's artists than his writers, but internal evidence confirms that chief artist Berghaus and his illustrators performed double duty as eyewitness reporters when they visited locations to make their sketches. Headed, "Our Own Reporter's Account," one story told of the writer touring a barn with a health officer named Travers.[16] He was threatened, "but upon Mr. Travers saying I was a reporter, I was allowed to take notes and make sketches." The first swill milk issue included a first-person account, reporting the writer's harrassment by a dairy mob whose leader "urged on the men to 'kill the d-----d Dutchman!'" The story promised, "Full details of these outrages will appear in our next, illustrated with sketches of the scenes of the attack on our employees by these ruffians." The followup indicated that the first-person narrator was artist Berghaus. The promised sketch showed a crowd of angry "milkmaids" confronting the fair-haired artist, who stood his ground, straight and tall, despite a big boot hurling toward him. The "d-----d Dutchman," doing the reporting and facing the mob, resembled the description, elsewhere, of Berghaus as a "large, blond German with the arrogant,

pompous manner of a Prussian officer."[17] The drawing certainly did not portray the short, dark and pudgy Nast.

Other accounts describe the artist-reporters, not only viewing scenes for their sketches, but reaching out to touch them. "Upon taking hold of some of these miserable cows," one wrote, "the hair came out in my hand, leaving their hide quite bare."[18] Such experiences were both reported and illustrated, inspiring that most oft-reproduced of swill milk scenes: the dying cow, tail rotted off, hanging limply in a sling during a final milking.[19] This was "no fancy picture." Readers were told that seeing is believing, a slogan applied to both the tourguide reporting and the "faithful and accurate illustrations." Thanks to "the unerring pencil,"[20] as the weekly put it, or "ocular inspection," the phrase of the Medical Times, "the public saw for themselves."[21]

* * *

"Visited Every Locality Herein Mentioned"

The intensity of the crusading campaign and the geographical spread of the swill milk barns, routes and customers challenged Frank Leslie to mount a team effort. When the New York Times focused its attention on "Crowding the Poor/Appalling Pictures of Tenement-House Life" in 1871, no full-scale crusade was yet underway. The newspaper was pursuing Boss Tweed and Tammany Hall, but not zeroing in on what it called, "The Tenement Oppression," with the urgency it would adopt during the deadly heat wave a year later. Still, teamwork was needed to support the newspaper's claim that "The special service reporters of the TIMES, accompanied by police detectives, have visited every locality herein mentioned."[22] That is to say, the Times did not send just one reporter to look here and there, but assigned many to provide "A Tour Through the Lower Wards," and to support such ringing conclusions as "The brutal, greedy and merciless policy of the landlords is too base to be told in words."

Observational reporting in the tour-guide style could be time-consuming, and, in many cases, an ordeal of disgusting odors, repulsive sights and unbearable heat. An unventilated attic was so oven-like, "Even the stout policemen who went there were almost suffocated." Readers had been forewarned to expect both "the picturesque and the terrible side of the subject."[23] In a phrase later made famous by Jacob Riis, the same promotional paragraph promised a "revelation . . . to one half of the world of how the other half lives." The consequent article extended more than two full columns of crowded type. It opened with the common editorial leader, a long summary paragraph rich with parallel repetition and alliteration. The writer, perhaps city editor George Williams, began, "To be poor enough to live day by day, or not beyond the week, is a painful anxious drudgery," and continued the parallel construction into portrayals of the moderately poor and the largest group, the "miserably poor." Of them, the leader concluded, "Disease hovers about their pathway, and death haunts every hour."[24] The reporters then ranged from statistical data on the demographics of crowded blocks and teeming lots, to the picturesque -- the chattering of his monkey as an organ-grinder snored -- and the terrible -- description of besotted drunks who "lay with their persons exposed, their rags and tatters being covered with vermin, and dabbled in their own vomit." They also offer dialogue with dialect in the police court tradition.

The accumulative details are presented in a first-person plural narrative. Guided on these tours by the editorial "we," "we" climb stairs, "we" peer in, and "we" pass through, just as Bennett and Dickens did before and as Riis and others would do in the future. The presence of the reporter is emphasized. Just as seeing was believing in Leslie's, "Facts do not lie" in the Times. "The circumstances upon which this article is based are not gleaned by careless hearsay." The Times' team toured "every locality herein mentioned," and blamed

landlords for the misery revealed.

A year later, when the newspaper assigned reporters to tour again "Among the Poor," circumstances seemed more urgent and the purpose was more than revelation. A deadly heat wave, though receiving less news space than the trial of Gentleman Jim Fisk's murderer, won daily attention in both news and editorial columns. On the Fourth of July, the editorial "Deaths from Heat" was followed by a second commentary, "Excursions for Poor Children," which launched an ongoing appeal for funds to finance country outings.[25] Daily editorials were foreshadowed by detailed observational reporting and capped by a major article, "Among the Poor," which surveyed "Condition of the Children in the Tenements."[26] The team of reporters toured seven of the "lower wards" on a single Sunday afternoon.

This fuller effort climaxed a week which began with a two-column account of the "cleaning-out of two notorious tenements in the Sixth Ward."[27] Headed "Two Pest-Holes the Less," its editorial leader employed the familiar metaphor of the pestilential nursery: "We advise everybody who wants to know where the seeds of pestilence come from . . . to read our reporters' account of the cleaning-out." As the heat wave dragged on, other stories mentioned reporters, plural and singular. On the Fourth, "The Poor Children" said, "In company with the Rev. E.M. Schultz, the writer visited yesterday some of the most crowded tenements."[28] Here, a Five Points Missionary provided the company -- the tour guide and arguably the legitimacy -- contributed by police detectives in earlier investigative tours. Twenty years later, when Riis warred on poverty, reporters both accompanied and posed as health inspectors and other officers of vague origins when knocking on tenement doors. On July 6, "Among the Lowly" headlined another tenement tour; the Times reporter talked to families "in company with Officer Connors of the 27th Precinct."[29] Meanwhile, daily updates on the planned

excursions mentioned efforts by the staff to recruit support for the outings, assuring in one instance, "Our reporters have been cordially met...at every hand."[30]

The major investigative article, which took readers on Sunday tours of seven wards, was narrated in third person, rather than the first person plural of the 1871 expose. No longer "we," a single reference to "our reporters" gave way in the ward-by-ward division of the story to passing mentions of "the reporter." In the First Ward, "full of death and disease and misery," and "reeking with disregarded filth," a description of food dumped in the gutter also touched on the reporter's presence.

> Masses of boiled beans, of green peas, verging on a dull yellow, bones of ham, large pieces of baked mutton, probably affected by the weather, and other descriptions of food were observed by the reporter who visited the ward between 2 and 3 o'clock in the afternoon, yesterday.[31]

That lengthy look at "Crowding the Poor" the year before showed more stylistic variety within the single article, and provided more statistical detail not available from on-the-scene observation. It used the classic tour-guide style in such invitations as "Up a dark, black, greasy and creaking stairway, we climb to the second floor."[32] The absence of this approach from the major 1872 article, "Among the Poor," accompanies the change in narrative voice. However, it provides much more than the gutter menu cited above.

In the Fourth Ward, the article again confirms the journalistic presence, noting, "A TIMES reporter, yesterday between the hours of 3 and 6, went through the worst streets of this division of the city."[33] Later, the reporter became "the visitor," engaged in conversation with a seven-year-old "found eagerly searching a garbage barrel for morsels." Before mentioning that "conversations with a score or more of others revealed similar stories of woe," the reporter presented dialogue with the hungry girl.

> "My mother is over at the Island, and my father has been drinking with another woman down in the basement," she said.
>
> "But have you no home?"
>
> "No sir. Father did not pay up the lodging-money on Saturday night, so I was turned out in the street."
>
> "Where did you sleep then?"
>
> "Behind the corner soda-water fountain at the foot of the street, till about four o'clock when the 'boss' came and pulled me out."

No similar exchanges between reporters and children occur. In the Thirteenth Ward, a "conversation" or interview between "REPORTER" and "OFFICER" thus labels the alternating questions and answers in the tradition of the earliest interviews.[34] The first question, "REPORTER--How do the children amuse themselves here on Sunday?", poses a central premise of the entire article.

These two conversational interviews are exceptions; most voices reported by the on-the-scene observers are heard in the streets. Amidst a crowd of children hurling brickbats, a First Ward mother would "scream shrilly, 'Lize Ann, you come in this instant minute, or I'll shake yer life out." In the Fourteenth Ward, mothers shout, "Jimmy, Jimmy, you mustn't do that;" and "Rose Ellen, come upstairs directly." On that evidence, along with the absence of such voices in other wards, the same reporter may have toured the First and Fourteenth. In contrast, the report from the Five Points featured neither shouting mothers or conversational dialogue, but individual description. That homeless seven-year-old in the Fourth Ward, who spoke of sleeping behind the fountain, had no visual identity. At Five Points, when a crowd gathered to witness the removal of a dead horse, one child was closely observed.

> Here, among the rude boys, brawling women and rough men, were little girls of three or four summers, so scantily clad that when one of the nice ones found a gentleman closely scrutinizing her she shrunk away and hid herself for very shame. Her soft blue eyes shone innocently through the dirt that begrimed her shapely face, and masses of hair that might be of golden hue but for the filth that tangled them, hung in natural curls upon her naked shoulders.

A comparable description can be found, not in other sections of this article, but in an episode with a fallen dove named Meg in the 1871 story. The sensory detail devoted to the girl with the curls is an exception; as a rule, individual children are lost in groups. In Water-street, for example, "young children were huddled on cellar doors singing, 'Down in the Coal Mines' in loud tones," while a nearby group laughed and swore profanely.

* * *

"Not a Single Hell Was Left Unvisited"

Vice, rather than poverty, inspired the most concerted 19th Century episode in team reporting, but style and technique shared much with the earlier work by the New York Times. Beginning on December 28, 1880, and continuing into March, 1881, Pulitzer's St. Louis Post-Dispatch kept a half dozen reporters busy "raiding" dives of one kind or another, under such headlines as "A HELL FOR BOYS," "THE ROAD TO RUIN" and "IN FULL BLAST."[35] These reportorial raids also owed much to the tour-guide tradition, dating at least to Bennett's investigation of the Jewett murder in 1836, to Solon Robinson in the 1850s, and to the New York reporters discussed here.[36] A single reporter, John McEnnis, has been credited with the first of these investigations.[37] He aimed at a single target, "A HELL FOR BOYS," the Sheridan Exchange. It was a gambling house, the headline said, where "Boys Roped in and Robbed."[38]

If the action inside differed from the slum tours of the Times, the trip sounded familiar. The reporter was guided by Diepenbrock, the proprietor. The latter "led the way to a pair of stairs opening into the saloon, the barkeeper shaking his head at him ominously as he did so, up which the party climbed. The ascent was a narrow and tortuous one... ." During the subsequent team raids, reporters might merely walk into wide-open places of business, but several others repeated the staircase pilgrimage which so often bridged the distance between

the reader's world and the world of "the other half." In any case, the Post-Dispatch, a week after exposing one "Hell," offered 17 more. On January 3, 1881, the first headline, "IN FULL BLAST," was followed by such decks as "Seventeen Keno and Faro Rooms Skinning Their Victims" and "A Horrid Vice Notoriously Winked at by the Police." The seven-column narrative opened,

> Upon the first day of the new year, the POST-DISPATCH raided the gambling houses of the city, with the results set forth below. The whole corps of reporters were sent upon this mission, and not a single hell was left unvisited.[39]

That not one went unturned by the "whole corps" was not entirely due to advance planning. "Several of these places were blundered into accidentally by the reporters while hunting the regular hells." As a raiding party, they apparently all set forth on that same New Year's evening, a point accentuated when most reported on their own arrivals at the gambling houses.

The largest of the houses, Pate's, came first in a series of separate vignettes, each headed by a house name, much as the segments of the slum tours were labeled with names of the wards. The story of Pate's ran longest, more than a full column, while the shortest were two-inch summary paragraphs. After the usual editorial leader, announcing the raids and casting suspicions on the gamblers' immunity from prosecution, the Pate's segment began,

> It was about half-past nine on New Year's night that a POST-DISPATCH reporter buttoned his overcoat up to his chin and set out to track the festive tiger in his lair.

Another visit started, "It was about half past ten o'clock at night when a reporter found himself" at Tarrant and Foster's house. Still another entry was more direct: "'Open up' was the salutation of a POST-DISPATCH reporter to the sweet angel that guarded the portal at France's keno house." Instantly, "the bolt was withdrawn and the scribe ushered up." At Furber and Cook's, almost a half-column of backgrounding unfolded before the reporter, after the now customary reference to the day, the newspaper and his visit, ordered a

drink of Hostetter out front.

> Affecting a confidential air, he whispered to the bartender, "Any game going on to-night upstairs?" "No, sir," replied he, "the place is closed tonight; nothing is going on."

With a few more sentences, the writer wrapped it up. In brief, the reporter's actual entry, complete with the usual dialogue and observational description, came so late in this lengthy segment because there was little to tour at this location.

Other visits were more fruitful, and the entry pattern was repeated. At LaBonte's, "a single eye appeared at an augur-hole" in the door, where a black porter demanded identification from the reporter. In a departure from the conventional style, the narrator, prompted by the porter's desire to "size him up", described himself for the reader as "five feet seven and one-fourth inches high" with "a bald spot on top of his head where a brick had shaved off the hair." Another raider, after climbing the stairs at Jim Ames' faro house, conversed with "a big black negro" at the porthole.

> "What you desiah, boss?"
> "Game running to-night?"
> "Yes sah, boss."
> "Big crowd?"
> "Tolerable, sah."
> "Will you let me in?"
> "Don't know you, boss."
> "Go upstairs and bring Jim down."

Burlesque physical description and dialect, both so common in early police court reporting, were still standard in the Post-Dispatch, where both appeared more frequently than in the examples from Leslie's and the Times. Once inside, the visitor described green curtains, walnut sideboards, mahogany chairs, a laurel wood table and a fire burning in the corner.

Capsule characterizations of employees, customers and proprietors abound in the St. Louis exposures. Diepenbrock, who ran the "HELL FOR BOYS," was "a rather thin, rat-faced fellow with a sprangly beard over the lower part of his

face."[40] A keno kibitzer who whispered in the reporter's ear at Godfrey's was "a broken-down, decrepit young man, not more than 25, but with hair as gray as though he were 60."[41] At Tarrant and Foster's, "a gentleman with a bad eye seated himself behind a faro layout and began in a silken and harmonious way to caress the cards." The corps of reporters even attempted to characterize entire crowds at both the gambling houses and the variety theaters. The lengthy sketch of Pate's included a breakdown of some 80 men, from nine or ten bankers, 15 or 20 salesmen and 20 more tradesmen to "a blackleg...the young man from the country, the old boy who ought to know better and, finally, Bob Pate himself.

The four-column front page treatment of "ROAD TO RUIN," a "Visit to the Variety Dens of St. Louis on a Sunday Night," appeared a week after the gambling raids and reflected on the article which "laid before the readers graphic descriptions."[42] The editorial leader on the variety dens, also headed "Four Schools of Sin Running at Full Blast Day and Night," reminded again that such descriptions "were the results of personal visits made by the reporters to the several houses." After applauding their accomplishments, the writer promised a sequel: "a series of sketches on the cheap theaters of the city...the result of Sunday night sacrifices by the reportorial corps." The leader ran more than a full column before giving way to the first theater tour, a visit to The Globe.

At its box office, "The reporter, following the example of the inflowing tide of humanity, thrusts his silver through a pigeon-hole and receives from the blue fingers of a pock-marked female in faded black" his ticket to "The Wideawakes."[43] The Globe, akin to its Elizabethan counterpart, segregated classes of customers. The back gallery seated some 350 boys, "packed in like sardines, bending forward over the balustrade, their faces strained with expectation and their mouths letting out the foulest of conversation." Readers

had learned earlier that "s-n of a b---h" was their favored term. The rest of the crowd, much like the gamblers at Pate's, was characterized, too, and then cashiers, waiters, bartenders, entertainers and owners received broad-brush portrayals. Captain Decker of the Globe, in his new silk hat, inspected the crowd with "a satisfied look," while "waiters in shirt sleeves dash back and forth with liquid." A dancing duo, "two young girls of 15 or thereabouts," is notable for "the exceeding scantiness of the tunics they wore, barely covering the hips." In sharper focus, the "serio-comic empress," large as the teen-age pair combined, entered in "a very short dress of light green silk trimmed with swansdown, with arms bared to the shoulders." She sang roguishly to "a white-haired old vagabond in an orchestra chair." A female impersonator, "'The Great Fostelle,' a blond young man, in an elaborate feminine toilette," followed. If the reader wanted more sordid performances, the Globe could not supply them. The Canterbury, it was soon revealed, could, for "it caters to the lowest." A customer "who becomes infatuated with a performer may step through a little door on the right of the stage and seek an introduction to the charmer." At the Crystal Palace, the gentlemen are "of the low-cut collar, wide-bound coat style" and the women "are almost all well-known prostitutes." If the narrator sounded hostile, this observation may explain:

> When he entered, the reporter took a stand a few feet inside the door and in a few minutes was knocked half a dozen feet to one side by a half-drunken woman who brushed past and sailed up the aisle.

No real dialogue develops between reporters and the denizens of the cheap theaters. Aside from a few partial quotations, generally exclamations from the crowd, the most notable use of direct quotes springs from the act of the "empress," who sings,

> "Oh, don't make love to these girls you see;
> Think before you begin it.
> For they'll only give you the hearty laugh
> And tell you ther's nothing in it."

She asks if they "catch on to it," and the responding shout indicates they do. The headlines warned of "Scenes of Vice, Indecency, Profanity and Blasphemy," not to mention, "How the Youth and Men of a Great City Are Tempted" and "The Harlots, Thugs, and Thieves Who Entice and Deprave Them." Nevertheless, the leader had also forewarned,

> Abuses and vicious tendencies are pointed out, but the POST-DISPATCH does not play the part of purist so far as to enter into wholesale condemnation of cheap play houses. The sketches will be found to be descriptive rather than denunciatory.

Compared to the swill milk crusade and the 1871 article on "Crowding the Poor", the Post-Dispatch raids fell short of most information beyond observational description. Some back-grounding came from other investigation, but the great bulk of detail was gathered during the tours.

* * *

Such differences aside, these early episodes in team reporting share a key variable which sets them apart from the common run of tour-guide reporting. In each of the three cases, editors wanted a detailed investigation of several locations in a short time so that the separate scenes might be combined in a single article. During the July heat wave, the New York Times set the task of seeing poor children in many neighborhoods, all on one Sunday. After one reporter visited a single "Hell Hole" and collected sensational details, the Post-Dispatch had a better idea; all its reporters would visit all the gambling-houses on a busy holiday. For Frank Leslie, the time problem was not as compelling, but his artists and detectives needed to visit the swill milk distilleries and other sites if the first week's story was to make the maximum impact.

In literary style and reporting technique, the team reports rely heavily on the elements characteristic of other tour-guide reporting, with little to

distinguish the works of the "corps" from the work of an individual reporter, making a lonelier Sunday night sacrifice. Nothing in the internal evidence suggests significant variation in the assignments, although some variation in treatment is suggestive of different reporters, with more physical description here, more dialogue there. A less limited study, exploring further examples and examining other types of evidence, might reach different conclusions. Based on broad study of newspapers and periodicals in these developmental years, however, I doubt it. More reporters simply provide a more concentrated look at more scenes at the same time. The results in these cases were colorful, provocative stories of unusual sensory impact.

Notes

1. Judith Bolch and Kay Miller, Investigative and In-Depth Reporting (New York: Hastings House, 1978) pp. 8-9. Under the "hero" heading, several pages touch on the past. This includes the incorrect claim that Thomas Nast's cartoons were part of the New York Times assault on Boss Tweed "in the late 1800s," p. 8.

2. James H. Dygert, The Investigative Journalist, Folk Heroes of a New Era (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976). Despite the subtitle, no interest is indicated in an old era.

3. For example, Neale Copple's pioneering Depth Reporting (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964) p. 22 refers to the New York Time's "reputation for telling the complete story," thus it "would not imagine depth reporting as a new concept."

4. Leonard Downie Jr., The New Muckrakers (Washington, D.C.: New Republic Book Company, 1976)

5. Jessica Mitford, Poison Penmanship, The Gentle Art of Muckraking (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1979). The dust jacket blurb begins, "Here at last, The Queen of the Muckrakers . . . ."

6. Paul Williams, Investigative Reporting and Editing (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978) p. 87, discusses "Mutt and Jeff" double-teaming; pp. 161-65, examine both permanent and ad hoc teams, but entirely in contemporary terms.

7. Ibid., p. 165.

8. Bennett's singlehanded reporting in the early 1830s is discussed in biographical treatments from Isaac Pray's Memoirs of James Gordon Bennett and His Times (New York: Stringer and Townsend, 1855; New York: Arno Press reprint, 1970) to present. The number of Civil War correspondents working for the Herald is cited by various sources, all settling for numbers in the sixties. See, for example, Dictionary of Literary Biography, Vol. 43, p. 42.

9. Julian Rammelkamp, Pulitzer's Post-Dispatch, 1878-1883 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967) p. 192.

10. Tour-guide reporting is discussed in Warren T. Francke's "Sensationalism and the Development of 19th-Century Reporting," Journalism History 12:3-4, Autumn-Winter, 1985, pp. 80-85.

11. St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Jan. 10, 1881, p. 4.

12. Other examples may have appeared earlier in other publication. Rather than an exhaustive search of all newspapers or of a randomly-selected cross-section, research was limited to those metropolitan newspapers traditionally identified as leaders in aggressive and innovative reporting.

13. Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper (hereafter, Leslie's) May 8, 1858, p. 1 (bound, p. 353).

14. Leslie's, July 24, 1858, p. 121.

15. Ibid., May 8, 1858, p. 354.

16. Ibid., May 29, 1858, p. 406.

17. Albert B. Paine, Th. Nast, His Period and His Pictures (New York: Macmillan, 1904) pp. 18-19. See pages 17-29 for discussion of the art staff and its duties.

18. Leslie's, May 29, 1858, p. 406.

19. See for example Edwin and Michael Emery, The Press and America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1984) p. 226.

20. Leslie's, May 8, 1858, p. 353.

21. American Medical Times, May 17, 1862, p. 278.

22. New York Times, July 2, 1871, p. 8.

23. Ibid., July 1, 1871,p. 5.

24. Ibid., July 2, 1871, p. 8.

25. Ibid., July 4, 1872, p. 4.

26. Ibid., July 8, 1872, p. 8.

27. Ibid., July 2, 1872, p. 4.

28. Ibid., July 4, 1872, p. 1.

29. Ibid., July 6, 1872, p. 2.

30. Ibid., July 7, 1872, p. 4.

31. Ibid., July 8, 1872, p. 8.

32. Ibid., July 2, 1871, p. 8.

33. Ibid., July 8, 1872, p. 8.

34. Ibid., For discussion of "The Evolution of the Interrogation Interview," see Warren Francke's unpublished paper presented to the American Journalism Historian's Association, Las Vegas, October, 1985. The labels have ranged from Bennett's "Q." and "A." to Greeley's "H. G." and "B. Y." in the

Brigham Young interview to complete names and the occupational labels here.

35. The headlines appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on Dec. 28, 1880, p. 1, Jan. 10, 1881 p. 4 and Jan. 3, 1881, p. 1.

36. See New York Herald, April 13, 1836, p. 4 for Bennett, and Solon Robinson's Hot Corn, Life Scenes in New York (New York: DeWitt & Davenport, 1854), a collection of the writer's "New York in Slices" reports for the New York Tribune.

37. Rammelkamp, pp. 163-66.

38. Post-Dispatch, Dec. 28, 1880, p. 1.

39. Ibid., Jan. 3, 1881, p. 1. The article continued on p. 2.

40. Ibid.,, Dec. 28, 1880, p. 1.

41. Ibid., Jan. 3, 1881, p. 2.

42. Ibid., Jan. 10, 1881, p. 4.

43. Ibid. The only graphic display, other than the stacked headlines, was the representation of this ticket, centered in the column, with two lines, "The Wideawakes" and "Admit One," enclosed by a dotted border.